648 563 nevertheless the type of behaviour which is normal between Labour Recruiter and African is dictated by the pattern of behaviour of African to Administrator. The Yao find it extremely difficult to separate out their attitudes to these different types of social personalities and the main reason is that they tend to categorize all White people into a general class "Whites" of whom the most common representative to them is the Administrator.

647 648 It is, however, impossible to consider the Administrator without reference to the African Civil Service. I am using this phrase to mean those Africans who are in constant and direct interaction with the Administrator. I include the clerks, interpreters, messengers, policemen, and other intermediaries between the Administrator himself and the people. Probably of major importance is the interpreter who speaks directly to the people on behalf of the Administrator. In Southern Nyasaland the official language is Nyanja and officials are expected to learn it for their official business. Some of the Yao men in the area under study can understand and speak [191] Nyanja but some men cannot and certainly most women cannot do so. Therefore, the tendency is for the Administrators to make use of interpreters in dealings with the Yao and other peoples in the area. The Administrators do not interact directly with various social personalities but do so rather through either their own civil service or through the N.A.'s Bureaucracy who, being educated, are able to speak and understand the official language. The Administrators are in direct interaction with their own Civil Service and only in indirect interaction with the other social personalities in the political structure.

The African Civil Service stands for a set of White values and for this reason is placed in the "Whites Values" part of the diagram. The African Civil servant represents the District Commissioner or Agricultural Officer to the tribesman. The Tax Clerk, while he is collecting taxes, is part of the system of the Administrator. The Agricultural Capitao (African official) represents the Agricultural Officer to the villager when he instructs him in the building of contour ridges.

[See p.152 — Analyst.]